DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 037 641 AC 006 640

AUTHOR	Cantor, Marjorie H.; Wagner, Karen
TITLE	VISTA Service and Volunteer Attitudes.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. School of Social Work.
PUB DATE	Jun 68
NOTE	66p.; VISTA Research Project, Report III
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.40
DESCRIPTORS	*Attitudes, *Changing Attitudes, Democratic Values, Political Attitudes, *Research, Social Attitudes, *Volunteers
IDENTIFIERS	VISTA, *Volunteers in Service to America

ABSTRACT

A study was made of the attitudes of VISTA volunteers at the beginning of their training, at the end of training, and after they had been in their jobs for four months. The volunteers were found to be individuals committed to the democratic process and liberal in their economic and political thinking. At the end of training, they were still committed to the democratic process and even more liberal, but they had begun to raise questions about the potency of the group and particularly of the individual in social action. They remained highly connected with society, but had some doubts about the operation of its political and economic systems; and their ability to accept persons different from themselves was enhanced. There was no reversal in attitudes after four months on the job, although they were slightly less optimistic about group potency in social action. Comparisons were noted with the attitudes of "deselected" volunteers (those dropped during the training program). (For other reports, see AC 002 352, AC 006 639, and AC 006 641.) (MF)

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VISTA Service and Volunteer Attitudes

by Marjorie Cantor and Karen Wagner

AC000640

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June 28, 1968

Mr. Albert Maisel, Director
Program Planning and Evaluation
VISTA, Washington
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Maisel:

In accordance with our contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity, I am pleased to submit this study of the impact of VISTA service on the career aspirations of VISTA Volunteers working in urban poverty during the years 1966-1968. This is the third monograph to be issued by the VISTA Research Project of the Columbia University School of Social Work dealing with various aspects of VISTA in the inner city.

This report deals with the attitudes of VISTA Volunteers towards the democratic process, society and its institutions, the efficacy of social action and acceptance of persons different from self at three points in time - upon entrance into VISTA, after VISTA training and when the Volunteers are in the field four months.

This research would not have been possible without the assistance and cooperation of the VISTA staff in Washington and the regions. The Sponsoring Agencies and the Volunteers were most generous in giving of their time. Above all they desired to paint a full picture of urban VISTA and its impact on the Volunteers.

I trust that these findings will be of value to VISTA. In the Summary and Implication section we have noted some implications of the material from our vantage point and would be only too happy to discuss them further with you and any other members of the VISTA staff.

In closing, may I thank you for the opportunity to work with you and with VISTA.

Sincerely,

Marjorie H Cantor

Marjorie H. Cantor, Director
VISTA Research Project
Columbia University School of
Social Work

MHC:dk

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have helped make this research possible. VISTA has from the beginning encouraged and cooperated with our efforts.

The Columbia University School of Social Work and Acting Dean Sidney Berengarten through their deep interest in VISTA made this research possible.

Dean Samuel F. Finestone, Assistant Dean and Director of the Research and Demonstration Center, of which this project is a part, has been a close advisor and warm friend. His wise guidance has been most encouraging to all involved.

The preparation of this report was aided considerably by the efforts of Mrs. Mary J. Mayer, Research Assistant. Mr. Peter Abrams of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia helped immeasurably with the preparation of the data for IBM. Miss Dorothy Kehaya worked tirelessly as the Project Secretary.

The Columbia University VISTA Training Staff were most supportive of this research. Through their efforts it was possible to establish close contacts with the VISTA Volunteers. One of the most gratifying aspects of the VISTA Research Project was the positive working relationship between practice and research.

To the VISTA Volunteers, their Sponsoring Agencies and Direct Supervisors who welcomed our field visits and gave so generously of their time, particular appreciation is expressed.

Marjorie H. Cantor
Director,
VISTA Research Project

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The Challenge of VISTA

The primary purpose of VISTA, is of course, to help the poor in their struggle to overcome poverty. But there is as well the broadening, deepening impact of living and working with the poor on the idealistic, highly dedicated young people who join VISTA. The full contribution of VISTA probably lies in this rare mixture of service to others and growth of self.

Previous reports of the VISTA Research Project have evaluated the experience of a typical group of urban VISTA Volunteers in their Sponsoring Agency and in their service to the poor. This phase of the study concerns the Volunteer himself and the effect of VISTA on the attitudes and values of its participants.

The stated goals of VISTA and its positive image as the champion of the poor attract to VISTA service many liberal, action-oriented young men and women[1]. By virtue of joining VISTA, they signify their desire for continued involvement with this country, its institutions and unsolved problems.

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[1]Although VISTA has in its rank middle-aged and elderly Volunteers, its main attraction is to young college trained individuals.

VISTA service can have, for such young people, either positive or negative effects. Face-to-face contact with poverty and its frustrations, the slow pace of change and inadequate methods of bringing services to the poor can cause disillusionment, bitterness and estrangement. Positive feelings about the democratic process and the power of individuals and groups to bring about change can be eroded. This is essentially the road of negativism and alienation.

Or the VISTA experience, offering both the opportunity to play a constructive role with the poor and close working relationships with mature helping professions, can reinforce positive feelings and render more realistic beliefs in the democratic process, social action and the potency of citizens to solve the crises facing our urban society. From such a reaffirmation can come young people committed to play a leadership role in the solution of pressing problems and dedicated to putting their skills and education to use for the common good. This, of course, is the road to the future.

Attitudes and Beliefs Under Study

Behaviour to a large extent is conditioned by attitudes and beliefs. A study of attitudes, therefore, serves as one appropriate method of evaluating the impact of an organization on its participants. In this study, attitudes basic to the VISTA role and the helping process were tested at three points in time; upon entrance to VISTA, after six weeks of VISTA training and finally after four months of service on the VISTA job.

Five attitudinal regions were considered -- commitment to the democratic process, orientation to political and economic issues, belief in social action, degree of connection to society and its institutions, and attitudes towards persons different from self. The attitude scales utilized to measure Volunteer beliefs were standardized instruments used in previous evaluation studies with young people of comparable backgrounds and organizations with goals similar to VISTA.

The Findings

At the point of entrance into VISTA, the participants were found to evidence basic confidence in the democratic process. Within this democratic framework, they applauded the value of social action to bring about social change, and both groups and individuals were seen as having a potent role in social change. They were by no means alienated from society, but rather expressed a strong sense of connection. They approved of prevalent economic norms but were more questioning of political norms, and were relatively tolerant of persons different from themselves.

A comparison of the attitudes held by the 99 Volunteers accepted for VISTA service and 37 deselected individuals, indicates no significant difference between the two groups. Both "selectees" and "deselectees" apparently brought with them to VISTA attitudes consistent with and in fact necessary for VISTA service. Selected Volunteers, however, differed from "deselectees" in their ability to put these positive beliefs into practice in the helping role.

The training experience acted to shake up attitudes and the greatest amount of attitudinal change recorded took place during the six weeks of VISTA training at the Columbia University School of Social Work. Any change occurring, thereafter, during the course of VISTA service merely reinforced trends begun in training. Training caused no shift in the Volunteers' positive attitudes about democracy and the democratic posture. There was, however, significant change in the Volunteers' political-economic attitudes in the direction of greater liberalism. An interesting shift also occurred in attitudes about social action. On the action-apathy scale which measures Volunteers' beliefs in the necessity for action, there was no change as a result of training. Volunteers remained strong advocates of social action. But they did become less optimistic about the efficacy of both the individual and the group in bringing about social change. Apparently, the first hand introduction to the immensity of poverty and the difficulties involved in altering conditions faced by clients caused them to become more realistic, although not disillusioned about the power of the individual and the group.

Training in no way affected the Volunteers' strong sense of connection to society, but it did act to generate questions about existing economic and particularly political norms. This finding complements the previously mentioned shift toward a more liberal position on the political-economic conservatism scale.

Exposure during training to many different kinds of people, combined

with training lectures on the causes of social deviation, acted to make the Volunteers even more tolerant in their attitudes towards persons different from themselves. All in all, the effect of training was to strengthen the Volunteers' beliefs in constructive action while making them more questioning of values and attitudes they had previously taken for granted.

The second span of time, four months' of activity on a VISTA job, was marked by no sharp alterations or reversals in attitudes. Despite difficulties of adjustment to job, agency and poverty, the attitudes of the Volunteers, after four months' of service, were generally stabilized at the post-training level. Significant attitudinal change occurred only on one scale -- the group potency scale. The change, although statistically significant, was minimal in size. The direction of change was the same as in training, toward a slightly more negative view of the potency of the group. However, it is important to note that the Volunteers were still on the positive side of the individual and group potency scales.

The VISTA experience as a totality includes, of course, both training and service in the field. If one evaluates the net impact on the attitudes of the Volunteers from the time of entrance to the final testing on the job, there is little doubt that VISTA served as a broadening and deepening experience. Belief in the democratic process was significantly strengthened, commitment to action and involvement with society reaffirmed, and the Volunteers continued to believe in the potency of the individual and group, although this belief was tempered by realism learned in daily life in the

ghettos. The impact of the VISTA experience was to make the Volunteers question old ways of doing things and make them more receptive to new methods of solving urban problems. The largest single gain was in increased tolerance and understanding of persons whose behavior deviated from middle-class norms.

The strong positive views of the Volunteers about society and their relationship to it suggest that VISTA training prepared them well for the difficult experiences in the field. More importantly it is a testament to the positive nature of the relationship established between Volunteers and sponsors, and Volunteers and ghetto communities.

In terms of the future, the study findings are particularly encouraging. In VISTA, the Volunteers were exposed first hand to the magnitude of urban poverty. They were involved in efforts to help the poor that sometimes succeeded but at other times failed. They experienced and were a witness to cynicism, frustration and despair. All around them too little was being done, too much left undone. Yet in spite of this sobering exposure they came out of the VISTA experience strengthened in their belief in democracy, the value of social action, and the potential for positive change within the democratic framework.

The commitment to others which attracted them to VISTA was reinforced and tempered in the reality of VISTA training and service. It remained as strong at the end as when they arrived. Indeed, when their VISTA service was completed a majority of the study Volunteer made

career choices in the helping professions, particularly the field of social work and education. All of this underscores the significant contribution of VISTA to the preparation of America's future leaders.

INTRODUCTION

Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Congress established VISTA, thereby providing for our country's first corps of full-time Volunteers to live and work with the poor.

As a new dynamic program concerned with service, community organization and social change in poverty areas, VISTA attracts many dedicated able people, strongly oriented to the helping process and direct involvement with people. This new type of full-time Volunteer has a unique blend of idealism and willingness to undertake hard work. In turn the VISTA experience has served to enlarge the perspectives of the Volunteers and bring them into intimate contact with some of the most pressing problems faced by our country.

In past reports, the VISTA Research Project[1] has detailed the experience of a group of urban VISTA Volunteers, their training, the agencies for whom they worked, their effectiveness with the poor[2] and their career plans following VISTA service.[3]

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[1] The VISTA Research Project is a three-year longitudinal study of a group of urban VISTA Volunteers from the inception of their training through their year of service and concluding with their post-VISTA plans.

[2] Cantor, Marjorie, Tomorrow is Today, A study of Urban Vista, VISTA Research Project, VISTA Washington, 1967.

[3] Cantor, Marjorie, VISTA, A Source of Recruitment for the Helping Professions, VISTA Research Project, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York 1968.

The present report is concerned with the impact of VISTA service on the relevant social attitudes of these Volunteers. Our interest in the effect of VISTA experience on value and attitudes stems from two considerations. Not only will such data be valuable to VISTA for planning, but even more far reaching are the implications for the country when the Volunteers are considered in their roles as future leaders and professionals.

Attitudes are studied at three points in time; upon the Volunteers' entrance into VISTA, at the end of training and after four months' experience on the VISTA job. Ninety-nine Volunteers who completed the three waves of attitude tests are the subjects of this report. The study Volunteers were chosen by VISTA Washington without any special design from among the pool of eligible "urban" applicants and sent to the Columbia University School of Social Work for training in staggered classes over an eleven month period, September, 1965 to July, 1966. VISTA service was similarly staggered and the last of the study Volunteers completed their year of service in September, 1967.

THE SETTING

THE SETTING

The VISTA Volunteers - Who Are They?

First, and perhaps most striking, is the youth of the study Volunteers; ninety percent are 25 years or younger and two-thirds range in age from 20 to 23.

Evenly divided between men and women, most Volunteers are white, single and come from middle-class or affluent backgrounds. Their fathers hold mainly professional, semi-professional or managerial positions.

The Volunteers in our study are mainly college educated. Half have finished college and most of the rest have completed some college, and expect to return to school at the end of their VISTA service. However, as a group they cannot be considered highly trained. The majority are typical of those on the first rung of the American professional ladder -- the liberal arts graduate. Even the few who have completed professional training have rarely practiced their professions. For most, VISTA represents their first experience with the adult job world.

In addition to differing from the poor, with whom they work, with respect to class, education and race, few of the Volunteers have had previous exposure to large cities and urban poverty prior to entering VISTA. Inasmuch as VISTA tends to place Volunteers far from their home locale, most found themselves in parts of the country new to them and in environments radically

different from those of their past. [1]

Training and Selection of Volunteers

After initial screening by VISTA Washington, accepted applicants are sent to a VISTA Training Center for a six week training program. The Columbia University School of Social Work provided initial VISTA training in community action for the Volunteers in this study. Through a combination of lectures, discussion and field work experience in New York City social agencies, the training explored the nature of urban poverty and the role of the social agency in bringing needed services.

The main thrust of this training was to impress the importance of investment of self in a sensitive manner and in such a way as to strengthen client functioning and autonomy. The major focus of training was to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to understand the culture of poverty and effectively work with the poor.

Trainees are carefully observed by the training staff as they go through their didactic and fieldwork assignments. Based on this observation, recommendations are made to VISTA Washington about the potential ability of each candidate as a VISTA Volunteer. In evaluation of a trainee at Columbia, particular emphasis was placed on the ability to relate to people and effectiveness in a helping role. Final decisions on acceptance or

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[1] The demographic characteristics of the study Volunteers are generally similar to those of most VISTA Volunteers.

deselection of trainees (VISTA terminology) are made by the Selection Board convened at the end of training.

The Nature of the VISTA Experience

During their year of service, the 99 Volunteers reported on in this study performed a variety of jobs in many types of sponsoring agencies. All sponsors were located in urban areas, most in cities with populations of 500,000 or over. Clients were principally Negro or Puerto Rican.

The largest block of Volunteers were attached to the large recently organized, multi-facet community action programs (in most cases, the major anti-poverty programs in the community). The next largest group were in settlement houses offering traditional services as well as new outreach programs. Another substantial group had, as their sponsoring agency, educational institutions. Almost two-thirds of the Volunteers were in these three types of agencies.

Volunteers performed a variety of tasks in their sponsoring agencies, including organizing residents into social action groups; counseling clients and interviewing on their behalf; tutoring and teaching; manning service programs for the aged and mentally retarded; making home visits; recruiting; and organizing and leading self-help and recreational programs. In most instances Volunteers received moderately close and sustained supervision by a member of the agency staff.

In these jobs, Volunteers had the opportunity to serve as bridges between the ghetto and the outside world; to offer direct service; to act as catalysts in the communities to help others organize to bring about change; to innovate; and always, to act as representatives of the larger society in the role of symbols of concern and mobility.

Crucial to the VISTA concept is the provision that VISTA Volunteers live, whenever possible, with the poor in the neighborhoods in which they serve. The majority of the Study Volunteers therefore lived in the midst of the urban ghettos. They shopped in the same stores as clients, used the same laundermat, stood around and chatted with neighbors, and welcomed teenagers into their apartment socially. The impact of the living experience is summed up by one Volunteer:

> "I never knew what it was like to be hungry before. But now before our VISTA checks come in we often run out of money--don't have much food except crackers and apricots. Six months ago, boy, would I have complained! But now I think about what the people next door have for supper--or do they have supper and so I stop. I think that is what keeps me going when I get discouraged. Sometimes it is very discouraging, you know, when you live with roaches, the john gets plugged up, ceiling starts cracking. I say 'Oh, you middle-class softie--think what it is like to be a mother with five kids.' But if you don't go into homes and see them after work you wouldn't know this--their poverty stays with you much more and makes it possible for you to go on working. It wouldn't be this way if you just worked with them on a 9 to 5 basis and talked with them as professionals."

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The Attitudinal Regions Under Study

The attitudinal regions covered in our study can be encompassed under five broad headings:

Commitment to democratic processes

Political and economic liberalism

Belief in the efficacy of action in alleviating social problems

Feelings of connection with society

Tolerance towards persons different from self.

Commitment to Democratic Process

The first attitude region measures the degree to which the Volunteer is committed to the ideology and practice of democratic group processes and, conversely, the extent of his belief in obedience to constituted authority. Both of these perspectives are related to perhaps the most significant component of the VISTA role--generating social change in the community through the involvement and participation of the poor. That is, bringing about change in the power structure through the fullest use of the democratic process.

The two scales[1] contributing to this attitudinal concept are authoritarianism and democracy. The authoritarianism scale measures the extent

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[1] See Appendix A for all scales used, the items included and method of scoring.

of the individual's belief in rigid obedience to constituted authority, strict discipline, and the use of force and compulsion in social situations. Most of the items in the scale are undisguised and direct statements of an authoritarian ideology. The democracy scale is based on what might be called the ideology of democratic group process; specifically, commitment to decision through consensus, loyalty to democratic means for all ends, consistency of beliefs with behavior, and placement of high value on group decision procedures rather than upon mechanical efficiency in action.

Political and Economic Liberalism

The second attitudinal concept under study is concerned with the Volunteer's orientation on political and economic issues -- the point on the liberal-conservative continuum from which the Volunteer views society. It is to be expected that Volunteers holding progressive and liberal positions will judge the problems of poverty and the poor differently and see different solutions than the more conservative Volunteer. The scale used to measure this concept is the political-economic conservatism scale.

Belief in Social Action

For the VISTA Volunteer, as a change agent, a belief in the efficacy of action is essential. Three attitude scales are involved in measuring this belief -- action-apathy, individual potency, and group potency. The action-apathy scale is a measure of the valuation placed on action generally. The individual and group potency scales provide an estimate of the Volunteer's view of the power of the individual and the group, respectively, to change

existing ills of society. The acceptance of an action viewpoint is obviously essential for a functioning VISTA Volunteer.

Connection with Society

This deals with the distance between an individual and society and its institutions. To affect social change a Volunteer must be able to relate to the community and those around him. Feelings of distrust, non-acceptance and alienation incline the Volunteer towards isolation and social withdrawal. Three scales - anomie, political normlessness and economic normlessness - were used to measure these feelings.

Tolerance Towards Persons Different From Self

The final attitudinal area is concerned with the Volunteer's view toward individuals different from himself. The tolerance scale measures the Volunteer's reaction to a variety of deviant individuals endemic to poverty areas including juvenile delinquents, unmarried mothers, individuals who are personally filthy and people who use obscene language. The Volunteers will undoubtedly associate with many such individuals in the course of their VISTA service. It is essential in order to work with these people that the Volunteer be accepting of differences.

The scales used to test the attitudes of the VISTA Volunteers are not original to this study. They have been employed before with comparable groups of young people in evaluations of programs with goals similar to VISTA. [1]

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[1] Hyman, H., C. Wright and T. Hopkins, Applications of Methods of Evaluation, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1962. (cont'd)

Methodology

The attitude scales[2] were administered to the Volunteers at three points in time, at the beginning of training, at the end of training and after the Volunteers were in the field four months. The first two testings were conducted in group sessions by the Research Staff. The third administration was conducted individually by a member of the Research Staff during the course of a depth interview with the Volunteer on the job site.

All but three of the attitude scales used in this study were included in an instrument "The Opinion Survey" prepared by VISTA Washington and administered at the time of the study, to all VISTA Volunteers upon completion of training.[3] The anomie, political and economic normlessness scales were included in an additional questionnaire prepared by the VISTA Research Staff and administered only to the Columbia Volunteers.

The data presented herein compare the mean scores of 99

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1 (cont'd)
Riecken, H., The Volunteer Work Camp, A Psychological Evaluation, Addison-Wesley Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1952.
Dentler, R. A., The Young Volunteers: An Evaluation of Three Programs of the American Friends Service Committee, National Opinion Research Center, Chicago, Ill., 1959.
Weiss, Carol, ACT, The Nation's First Domestic Peace Corps, ACT, New York, 1964.

2 For copies see Appendix A.

3 To the best of our knowledge this study represents the first findings on the use of the Opinion Survey.

Volunteers[1] who completed the three waves of attitude tests. The T-tests of paired means was used to determine the significance of differences between testings. Differences at the .05 level were considered significant.

Reliability and Validity

The use of attitude scales as an evaluation of the impact of an experience presents several problems of validity and reliability.

Scales are administered at three points in time and any change occurring is attributed to the intervening experience (in this case, VISTA training and service). However, the Volunteers are generally young people in the process of crystallizing opinions about society and its problems. Thus change can be expected to occur even without VISTA experience. In addition, current events in the world may also exert an influence on attitudes. It is impossible to measure the effect of maturational change or the impact of outside events without a control group of similar respondents. As is usual in evaluations of this kind, such a control group is unavailable. However, there is a built-in control group in this study. Five classes of Volunteers were trained and tested in staggered six-week cycles extending over a period of 11 months. Such repetition serves to minimize the effects of maturation and specific current events on Volunteer attitudes. And also generally adds strength to the findings by presenting an opportunity for the

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[1] A total of 168 persons were sent to Columbia for training during the 11-month period under study. Of this group, 42 either resigned during training or were deselected, leaving a total of 126 Volunteers sent to the field for one year of VISTA service. Of this group, 14 did not remain on the job four months and 12 Volunteers missed one or more of the three attitude testings.

replication of results five times over.

There is always the possible influence on results from the practice effect of retesting. Although the Volunteers were given the same set of instruments three times, the time period between administrations was considerable. Hyman in his study of the use of attitude scales as evaluation tools notes that retest effects are negligible and that if anything, they limit the amount of change occurring, giving a conservative picture. He also suggests that testing is a usual experience for students and probably does not make a strong enough impression to be carried to the next testing session.[1] The fact that nine of the ten scales used have been standardized with other similar groups of young people adds further validity to the findings.

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[1] Hyman, op. cit., p. 35.

ATTITUDES UPON ENTERING VISTA

ATTITUDES UPON ENTERING VISTA

Attitudes of Volunteers Selected for VISTA Service

What are the attitudes towards democracy, society and the effectiveness of social action of a typical group of Volunteers upon entrance to VISTA? Table 1 presents the mean scores for the group as a whole at the beginning of training. [1] See Table 1 on page 15.

The data in Table 1 indicates that the 99 VISTA Volunteers entered training with a basic confidence in the democratic process. Within the democratic framework, they recognize the value of action to bring about social change, but primarily through the group rather than the individual. The Volunteers do not feel, as do many young people, disconnected from society. They express instead a very strong sense of economic norms. They do however question political norms. As a group they are relatively tolerant of persons different from themselves.

Commitment to Democratic Process

The Volunteers can be described as moderately committed to democratic processes. On the democracy scale the group mean was almost exactly at the scale midpoint, 41% of the Volunteers responding on the democratic end of the scale and 45% on the undemocratic end. On the authoritarianism scale the mean score for the group was slightly above the scale midpoint,

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[1] The attitude scores on each of the scales for the five training cycles individually are very similar. Therefore, throughout this report the scores for the 99 Volunteers are presented as a group to simplify discussion.

Table 1. Initial Attitudes of VISTA Volunteers on Ten Selected Scales

Scales	Initial Testing Mean	Initial Testing S. D.	Scale Midpoint	Theoretical Range of Scale	
Democratic Process					
Authoritarianism	28. 4	4. 63	27	Least Authoritarian Most Authoritarian	9 45
Democracy	24. 1	4. 24	24	Most Democratic Least Democratic	8 40
Liberalism					
Political-Economic Conservatism	24. 2	4. 59	27	Least Conservative Most Conservative	9 45
Social Action					
Action-Apathy	10. 1	2. 83	15	Least Apathetic Most Apathetic	5 25
Individual Potency	6. 1	2. 47	6	Most Potency Least Potency	0 12
Group Potency	7. 8	1. 66	6	Least Potency Most Potency	0 12
Connection with Society					
Anomie	22. 6	4. 28	17. 5	Most Anomie Least Anomie	5 30
Political Normlessness	17. 8	4. 72	17. 5	Least Normless Most Normless	5 30
Economic Normlessness				Least Normless Most Normless	6 36
Tolerance					
Tolerance	48. 0	9. 62	48	Least Tolerance Most Tolerance	16 80

55% of the Volunteers responding on the authoritarian end of the scale, 13% at the midpoint, and 32% on the non-authoritarian end of the scale.

Political-Economic Liberalism

The Volunteers' attitudes with respect to political and economic philsophy were very liberal. In fact, only 28% of the Volunteers had scores on the conservative side of the political-economic conservatism scale.

Belief in Social Action

The Volunteers believed very strongly in the overall value of social action as measured by the action-apathy scale. Only 4% of the Volunteers had scores on the apathy end of the scale and the mean for the group was considerably beyond the scale midpoint in the direction of commitment to action. The Volunteers were firm in their belief in the potency of the group as a force for social change, with only 7% responding on the low end of the group potency scale. However, the Volunteers were not as highly positive concerning the potency of the individual. The mean for the group on the individual potency scale was at the midpoint with 36% of the Volunteers at the low potency end of the scale. Thus many Volunteers, at the point of entering VISTA, saw the individual as having some but by no means unlimited potential as a change agent.

Connection With Society

The Volunteers displayed very strong feelings of connection with society. The group mean on the anomie scale was far beyond the midpoint

on the non-anomie end of the scale. The Volunteers also agreed strongly with prevalent economic norms, 80% of the Volunteers responding on the end of the scale indicating norms. However, the Volunteers were not as overwhelmingly positive with respect to political norms. The mean score was almost at the midpoint -- about half the Volunteers questioning the operation of our political system. (This questioning attitude toward traditional forms of political activity is very typical of today's somewhat anti-establishment, college educated young people.)

Tolerance Towards Persons Different From Self

The Volunteers were moderately tolerant in their attitudes toward deviants from society. The group mean on the tolerance scale was at the scale midpoint.

The Volunteers in our sample seem to have brought with them to VISTA attitudes consistent with and in fact necessary for VISTA service. The important question is what happens to these attitudes during the course of VISTA training and in the light of the sometimes traumatic VISTA service.

Attitudes of Deselected Trainees

Although the present study is primarily concerned with individuals selected into and serving as VISTA Volunteers, the attitudes of those who either fail to complete training or are deselected, are worth noting as a point of contrast. To what extent do the attitudes of those who are "selected into" Vista differ from the beliefs of rejected applicants?

Table 2 on page 19 compares the initial attitudes of 37[1] trainees deselected from VISTA during the five Columbia training cycles with the initial scores of the 99 study Volunteers.

Comparisons between initial attitude scores of "selected" and "deselected" individuals do not reveal significant differences on any of the 9 scales.[2] It seems that people who apply to VISTA share similar philosophy and goals. Selected Volunteers apparently differ from deselectees in their ability to put these positive beliefs into practice in the helping role.

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[1] Although 42 persons did not complete training (either resigned or deselected) initial attitude tests are available for only 37.

[2] Information was not available for the tolerance scale.

Table 2. Comparison Between Initial Attitudes of Selected and Deselected Trainees

Attitude Scales	Initial Testing: Selected Volunteers (mean scores)[1]	Initial Testing: Deselected Volunteers (mean scores)[1]	Amount of Difference	Interpretation of Difference
Democratic Process				
Authoritarianism	28.4	27.2	+1.2	N.S. difference
Democracy	24.1	23.9	+0.2	N.S. difference
Liberalism				
Political-Economic Conservatism	24.2	25.7	-1.5	N.S. difference
Social Action				
Action-Apathy	10.1	10.7	-0.6	N.S. difference
Individual Potency	6.1	6.1	---	N.S. difference
Group Potency	7.8	8.0	+0.2	N.S. difference
Connection with Society				
Anomie	22.6	22.1	-0.5	N.S. difference
Political Normlessness	17.8	17.9	+0.1	N.S. difference
Economic Normlessness	25.8	26.6	+0.8	N.S. difference

Note: Positive sign means change in desired direction
Interpretation of difference based on T-test results.

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[1]On this and other tables showing change data standard deviations and T-test scores are not shown. Such data is available in fuller tables found in Appendix B. See Table 2A.

CHANGES IN ATTITUDES DURING TRAINING

CHANGES IN ATTITUDES DURING TRAINING

Extent of Change

To what extent did the Columbia Vista training program affect the attitudes of the study Volunteers? Training was a compelling and intense experience. Volunteers were bombarded with new ideas, environments and people. In field work they were immersed in the life of the ghetto and many visited with and became close to poor families. The frustrations of poverty were brought home to them first-hand.

It was the explicit purpose of the training program to unsettle the essentially middle-class Volunteers--to force them to re-examine critically their attitudes and beliefs. Staff recognized that this might cause Volunteers to question the values with which they entered VISTA.

The training experience apparently achieved its goal of shaking up attitudes. The greatest amount of change in attitudes experienced by the study Volunteers took place during training. The impact of VISTA service in the field was to reinforce trends begun in training. Table 3 on page 22 summarizes the changes in attitudes occurring during the training program (Wave1 to Wave 2).

Commitment to Democratic Process and Political and Economic Liberalism

There was no significant change in the Volunteers' moderately positive feelings toward the democratic process. The Volunteers retained middle ground positions on both the democracy and the authoritarianism scales.

There was, however, significant change in the Volunteers' political-

Table 3. Changes in Attitudes of Volunteers During Course of Training Program

Attitude Scales	Time of Testing: Initial (mean scores)	Time of Testing: End of Training (mean scores)	Amount of Change[1]	Interpretation of Change[2]
Democratic Process				
Authoritarianism	28.4	28.0	+0.4	N.S. change
Democracy	24.1	23.6	+0.5	N.S. change
Liberalism				
Political-Economic Conservatism	24.2	23.1	+1.1	Change toward more liberalism ($P < .01$)
Social Action				
Action-Apathy	10.1	9.9	+0.2	N.S. change
Individual Potency	6.1	4.9	-1.2	Marked change toward less potency ($P < .001$)
Group Potency	7.8	7.4	-0.4	Some change toward less potency ($P < .05$)
Connection with Society				
Anomie	22.6	22.4	-0.2	N.S. change
Political Normlessness	17.8	16.8	-1.0	Some change toward less norms ($P < .05$)
Economic Normlessness	25.8	24.8	-1.0	Some change toward less norms ($P < .05$)
Tolerance				
Tolerance	48.0	51.2	+3.2	Marked change toward more tolerance ($P < .01$)

Note: Positive sign means change in desired direction.

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[1] In the above table, the same or similar amounts of change between means result in different significance levels. This is due to the varying ranges of the scales; e.g., a change of 1 point in a scale of 12 points has more weight than in a scale of 45 points. For full table with standard deviation scores and T-test results see Appendix B, Table 3A.

[2] Based on results of T-tests.

economic attitudes. They became considerably more liberal over training. (Change significant at $P < .01$ level.)

Social Action

There was also a very interesting shift in the Volunteers' attitudes about social action. On the action-apathy scale, which measures the Volunteers' feelings about the necessity for action, the group mean score did not change markedly -- remaining very strongly in the direction of action. On the individual and group potency scales, however, there was significant movement in the direction of less potency. That is, the Volunteers became less optimistic about the efficacy of both the individual and the group in bringing about social change. Although the change on both scales was significant,[1] there was considerably more negative movement on the individual potency scale (mean change of 1.2 points as compared to 0.4 points on the group potency scale). In fact the largest single change of any scale occurred with respect to individual potency. The Volunteers complete training with a barely moderate belief in the potency of the individual but still retain a strong belief in the potency of the group.

Connection with Society

Some interesting shifts occurred in the Volunteers' feelings about society and its norms. Training made no impact on personal sense of belonging to society. There was no significant change on the anomie scale.

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[1] $P < .05$ on the group potency scale and $P < .001$ on the individual potency scale.

The Volunteers, as a group, left VISTA training with a strong sense of connection to the world around them. However, with respect to acceptance of prevailing economic and political norms there was some movement towards greater normlessness ($P < .01$). Thus although the Volunteers still displayed a strong sense of identification with society, they apparently were more questioning about prevailing values.

Tolerance

The Volunteers became significantly more tolerant in their attitudes towards persons different from themselves. The mean score for the group increased over 3 scale points a highly significant change ($P < .01$).

Interpretation of Change

It appears that attitudes like authoritarianism and democracy, are essentially frames of reference, and rooted in values deeply internalized in childhood. As such they are least susceptible to modification in a six week training program. Restructuring attitudes assimilated into an individual's personality structure requires intensive re-socialization not encompassed in VISTA training. In spite of any difficult problems encountered in training (either in the fieldwork agency, or in the process of group living required in training) the Volunteers' initial acceptance of the democratic process and non-authoritarian posture was not diminished.

However, training did have considerable impact on attitudes and values about society and social action. The ideological exhortation, the factual and theoretical information and perhaps above all the confrontation

with the poor and their conditions of existence, challenged and made more liberal the Volunteers' political and economic views. These attitudes, less rooted in personality and more in middle class backgrounds were very susceptible to change, and Volunteers showed a marked shift towards greater liberalism as a result of training.

The changes in the Volunteers' attitudes about social action are perhaps the most fascinating, however unanticipated, result of the VISTA training program. The exposure to the complexities of poverty, both theoretically and practically, and the enormity of the problems to be overcome tended to diminish the Volunteers' belief in the capacity of individuals and groups to achieve social change. However, the still very positive scores on the action-apathy and group potency scales and the still moderate score on the individual potency scale suggest that the Volunteers became more realistic rather than disillusioned.

The Volunteers' lowered acceptance of political and economic norms indicate that the training succeeded in shaking accepted values. Volunteers apparently began to seriously question the operation of a society which could produce such poverty.

The Volunteers' exposure during the field work portion of training to individuals not conforming to norms of society, combined with the training lectures on the causes of such problems, helped the Volunteers become more accepting of deviation.

To summarize, at the end of training the Volunteers can be described

as still committed to the democratic process and even more liberal than when they enter VISTA. Still believing in the importance of social action, they began to raise questions about the potency of the group and particularly the individual. They remained highly connected with society, but had some doubts about the operation of its political and economic systems. And their ability to accept persons different from themselves was enhanced.

Comparisons with Results of Other Evaluation Studies

It is interesting at this point to stop and compare the changes in attitudes experienced by the study Volunteers during VISTA training with the results of several other comparable training programs aimed at strengthening democratic leadership and preparing individuals for service to others. Most of the scales utilized in our study were administered to college aged young people with similar backgrounds in the training programs conducted by the American Friends Service Committee, the Encampment for Citizenship, and ACT (Harlem Domestic Peace Corps).

Hyman,[1] Dentler,[2] Riecken[3] and Weiss[4] in evaluation studies of their training programs report little or no change as a result of training on the authoritarianism and democracy scales. With respect to attitudes towards social action, Hyman, Dentler and Weiss found some strengthening of an

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[1] Hyman, op. cit.
[2] Dentler, op. cit.
[3] Riecken, op. cit.
[4] Weiss, op. cit.

already strong belief in action. They also found a drop in the belief in the power of the lone individual to resolve social problems, but no wavering in the attribution of power to the group. These findings are essentially consistent with our results.

Pattern of Change

Attitude change has been discussed in terms of the difference between group means. Such measurement procedure, however, does not reveal whether the change component is made up of a few individuals changing a great deal, or many individuals changing only a little. In order to understand the kind of change occurring, turnover by individuals must be considered (i. e., the number of points per scale that each individual changed). When turnover from the beginning of training to the completion of training is plotted, some interesting findings occur. See Table 4 on page 28.

First of all, the great majority of Volunteers changed their attitude scores between these two points. On almost all scales at least three-quarters of the Volunteers changed their attitude scores (on the group potency scale 37% retained the same scores). The amount of change however in the majority of cases is small. Thus any differences which occurred in level of attitudes between the two testings is representative of the group and not the result of extreme movement on the part of a few individuals.

Table 4. Turnover From Beginning To Completion Of Training

Attitude Scales[1]	Type of Change (Proportion of Volunteers) Improved	Same	Worsened
Authoritarianism	49	14	37
Democracy	52	12	36
Political-Economic Conservatism	59	8	33
Action-Apathy	47	14	39
Individual Potency	18	21	61
Group Potency	20	37	43
Anomie	43	11	46
Political Normlessness	40	6	54
Economic Normlessness	31	6	63

[1]Information not available for tolerance scale.

Sample of Amount of Change Occuring on Scales

Authoritarianism
(9 items, scale range 9-45)

Number of Points Improved (% of Volunteers)				No change (% of Vol.)	Number of Points Worsened (% of Volunteers)			
10 or more	7-9 points	4-6 points	1-3 points	0 points	1-3 points	4-6 points	7-9 points	10 or more
---	6	12	31	14	22	13	2	---

THE IMPACT OF VISTA SERVICE

THE IMPACT OF VISTA SERVICE

Results at the Four Month Point

The final testing of attitudes occurred after the Volunteers were on the job four months. The VISTAS had gone through several very difficult adjustments including moving to a new city and taking up residence in the midst of the urban ghetto. Daily they faced the overwhelming frustrations of poverty. On their VISTA job, they had to adapt to an agency, its rules and regulations and to supervision. By the four month point they were deeply involved with clients and community institutions as agency worker and resident of the areas.

What was the impact of VISTA service on their attitudes? Were the difficulties, and frustrations they experienced enough to shake their faith in the democratic process and the potential of social action? Were previously positive feelings reversed? The data indicate that no reversal in attitudes took place. After four months on the job, the beliefs of the Volunteers were generally stabilized at the post-training level, as can be seen in Table 5 on page 31 (i. e. Wave 2 to Wave 3).

Significant attitudinal change occurred only on one scale--group potency. The change, although statistically significant, was minimal in size. The direction of change was the same as occurred in training, toward a slightly more negative view of the potency of the group. Apparently direct confrontation with poverty caused Volunteers to become slightly less optimistic about the power of the group to radically alter the status quo. However, it

Table 5. Changes in Volunteers' Attitudes During The First Four Months of Work

Attitude Scales	Time of Testing: End of Training (mean scores)	Time of Testing: 4 Months (mean scores)	Amount of Change[1]	Interpretation of Change[2]
Democratic Process				
Authoritarianism	28.0	28.0	--	N. S. change
Democracy	23.6	23.1	+0.5	N. S. change
Liberalism				
Political-Economic Conservatism	23.1	22.7	+0.4	N. S. change
Social Action				
Action-Apathy	9.9	9.9	--	N. S. change
Individual Potency	4.9	5.1	+0.2	N. S. change
Group Potency	7.4	6.9	-0.5	some change toward less potency ($P < .05$)
Connection With Society				
Anomie	22.4	21.8	-0.6	N. S. change
Political Normlessness	16.8	16.7	-0.1	N. S. change
Economic Normlessness	24.8	24.8	--	N. S. change
Tolerance				
Tolerance	51.2	52.6	+1.4	N. S. change

Note: Positive sign means change in desired direction.

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[1] In the above table, the same or similar amounts of change between means result in different significance levels. This is due to the varying ranges of the scales; e. g. , a change of 1 point in a scale of 12 points has more weight than in a scale of 45 points.

[2] Standard Deviation and T-test results are available in a more complete table in Appendix B, Table 5A. Interpretation of change based on T-test results.

is important to note that Volunteers were still on the positive side of both the individual and group potency scales. This suggests that the field experience caused positive but more realistic viewpoints about the nature and timetable of change. [1]

The fact that the experience on the job did not result in disillusionment suggests that the VISTA training given at Columbia prepared the Volunteers for the very difficult experiences they were to face. But perhaps more importantly the data imply the positive nature of the relationship established by the Volunteers with clients, job, agency and community. For after considerable VISTA service, the Volunteers remained very liberal and democratic; believed strongly in action and the potency of the group; were highly connected with society and accepting of people different from themselves.

The conclusion drawn from the attitudinal material that the Volunteers had a positive experience in VISTA is further supported by the statements of the Volunteers in direct interviews and the evaluation of their performance by agency Supervisors. As noted in the first report of the VISTA Research Project, [2] when asked about their satisfaction with VISTA, 54% of the study Volunteers felt that their satisfactions outweighed frustrations. About one-third felt satisfactions and frustrations were equally balanced; while only 14%

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[1] This contention is supported by Volunteer statements in the "End of Service Questionnaires." There were many comments on the slow pace of change and it was noted that impact often is measured in small steps.

[2] Cantor, op. cit.

felt that difficulties encountered were greater than satisfactions. Eighty percent contended at the four month point, that they had made some or a great deal of difference in the lives of the clients with whom they had worked.

The independent performance evaluation of the Volunteers by their Supervisors was likewise very positive. About 20% of the Volunteers were considered to be superb Volunteers, 60% good or very good Volunteers and only 20% were described as fair or poor performers.

Net Changes in Volunteer Attitudes Over Three Waves of Testing

The findings, to this point, have considered separately changes in attitudes occurring during training and those resulting from field service. But training and service together comprise the totality of the VISTA experience. What then was the net impact of the total VISTA experience on the Volunteers' attitudes? Table 6 on page 34 compares the mean scores for the group on the 10 scales at the point entrance into VISTA (Wave 1) and after the Volunteers had been at work on their VISTA jobs for four months (Wave 3).

This comparison indicates that the positive attitudes of the Volunteers towards society, the value of social action and their personal commitment to change within the democratic framework remained constant throughout the entire VISTA experience.

With respect to belief in the democratic process there was no significant change from beginning to end on the authoritarianism scale and a small change on the democracy scale towards "more democratic" (significant at $P < .05$ level).

However the Volunteers became considerably more liberal as a result

Table 6. Changes in Volunteer Attitudes During The Course of VISTA Experience

Attitude Scales	Time of Testing: Initial (mean scores)	Time of Testing: 4 Months (mean scores)	Amount of Change[1]	Interpretation of Change[2]
Democratic Process				
Authoritarianism	28.4	28.0	+0.4	N.S. change
Democracy	24.1	23.1	+1.0	Some change toward more democratic ($P<.05$)
Liberalism				
Political-Economic Conservatism	24.2	22.7	+1.5	Marked change toward liberalism ($P<.001$)
Social Action				
Action-Apathy	10.1	9.9	-0.2	N.S. change
Individual Potency	6.1	5.1	-1.0	(Marked changes (toward less
Group Potency	7.8	6.9	-0.9	(potency ($P<.001$)
Connection with Society				
Anomie	22.6	21.8	+0.8	N.S. change
Political Normlessness	17.8	16.7	-1.1	Some change toward less norms ($P<.05$)
Economic Normlessness	25.8	24.8	-1.0	N.S. change
Tolerance				
Tolerance	48.0	52.6	+4.6	Marked change toward more tolerance ($P<.001$)

Note: Positive sign means change in desired direction.

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[1] In the above table, the same or similar amounts of change between means result in different significance levels. This is due to the varying ranges of the scales; e.g., a change of 1 point in a scale of 12 points has more weight than in a scale of 45 points

[2] Interpretation based on T-test results-T-test scores and standard deviations at group means shown in Appendix B, Table 6A.

of their VISTA experience. There was a marked change on the political-economic conservatism scale towards greater liberalism statistically significant at the $P<.001$ level. It would appear that the Volunteers, as partisans of the poor, became increasingly more willing to consider new and perhaps more radical solutions to the serious urban problems they encountered first hand.

The VISTA experience acted to reinforce the Volunteers' belief in action. In spite of any frustrations experienced in attempting to alleviate poverty, the Volunteers were as committed to action at the end as at the beginning of service. (No significant change took place on the action-apathy scale.)

However there was marked decrease in the Volunteers' belief in the power of the individual and the group to alter circumstances. The negative shift was greater in the case of individual potency than group potency, but both changes were significant at the $P<.001$ level. It is important to note, however, that the Volunteers as a group still had faith in the power of both the individual and the group to effectuate social change - the vast majority still maintained scores on the positive side of these potency scales.

Most of the study Volunteers had never before had the chance to test their beliefs about social action and the power of individuals and groups in "real life" situations. As a result of their VISTA experience they remained committed to action, but became more realistic about what group action entails and the accomplishments that can reasonably be expected in a given

situation. Observing first hand the powerlessness of the individual poor person in the face of bureaucracy and large scale government, it is not surprising that their faith in individual potency diminished.

The Volunteers remained highly connected with society maintaining high positive scores on the anomie scale. There was however somewhat of a decrease in acceptance of political norms ($P < .05$ level), although no shift in attitudes towards economic norms. This shift towards greater political normlessness suggests some rejection, on the part of the Volunteers, of "old school politics" and "old ways of doing things."

The Volunteers, although initially tolerant of people different than themselves became markedly more so as a result of their VISTA experience. A highly significant change at the $P < .001$ level took place on the tolerance scales.

These findings with respect to Volunteer attitudes present a strong case for VISTA as a broadening and deepening experience. Unquestionably VISTA training and service forced Volunteers to question accepted values, particularly with reference to political norms, so-called deviant behavior and the power of individuals and groups to radically alter social conditions. But in the long run and in spite of all difficulties and frustrations, the VISTA experience acted to strengthen and make more realistic Volunteer commitment to society and the democratic process. Implicit in this commitment is the willingness to continue to be involved in the future of the country and the solution of its problems.

As a fitting postscript to this study of attitudes, it should be noted that a majority of the study Volunteers chose to study for or enter careers in the helping professions upon completion of their VISTA service. [1]

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[1] Cantor, Marjorie, VISTA, A Source of Recruitment for the Helping Professions?

Appendix A

AUTHORITARIANISM

	Strongly Agree	Mildly Agree	Not Sure	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.	5	4	3	2	1
What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.	5	4	3	2	1
There are many virtues children should learn that are more important than those of obedience and respect for authority.	1	2	3	4	5
No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.	5	4	3	2	1
Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.	5	4	3	2	1
Young people often have rebellious ideas, and it is a pity that as they grow up they conform more and more, until they are completely adjusted members of the community.	5	4	3	2	1
When a person has a problem or worry, it is best to avoid thinking about it, by keeping busy with more cheerful things.	5	4	3	2	1
Generally speaking, the less government we have the better off we will be.	1	2	3	4	5
Work is, of course, necessary but it is those things done in leisure that make life really interesting and worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5

DEMOCRACY

	Strongly Agree	Mildly Agree	Not Sure	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The best criterion for judging any technique for dealing with other people is in terms of how efficiently it will get the job done.	5	4	3	2	1
Sometimes it is necessary to ignore the views of a few people in order to reach a decision in a group.	1	2	3	4	5
In case of disagreement within a group the judgment of the leader should be final.	5	4	3	2	1
Fighting to put one's ideals into practice is a luxury that only a few can afford.	5	4	3	2	1
In a democratic group, regardless of how one feels, he should continue to support the group.	1	2	3	4	5
It is not always feasible to try to be consistent with one's ideals in everyday behavior.	5	4	3	2	1
There are often occasions when an individual who is part of a working group should do what he thinks is right, regardless of what the group has decided to do.	5	4	3	2	1
Almost any job that can be done by a committee can be done better by having one individual responsible for it.	5	4	3	2	1

POLITICAL ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM

	Strongly Agree	Mildly Agree	Not Sure	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need money for eating and living.	5	4	3	2	1
In any new tax program, it is essential that the income taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals be reduced.	5	4	3	2	1
The businessman and the manufacturer are probably more important to society than the artist and the professor.	5	4	3	2	1
It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living.	1	2	3	4	5
Men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young men to admire and imitate.	5	4	3.	2	1
There should be some upper limit, such as $50,000 per year, on how much an individual can earn.	1	2	3	4	5
Most of the present attempts to curb and limit unions would in the long run do more harm than good.	1	2	3	4	5
The only way to eliminate poverty is to make certain basic changes in our political and economic system.	1	2	3	4	5
The government should own and operate all public utilities (railroads, gas, electricity, etc.).	1	2	3	4	5

ACTION-APATHY

	Strongly Agree	Mildly Agree	Not Sure	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
It is important to vote even when you know your party doesn't have a change to win.	1	2	3	4	5
A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.	5	4	3	2	1
The average citizen is justified in remaining aloof from dirty politics that may exist in his community.	5	4	3	2	1
If a person is uncertain how to vote, it is better ff he does not vote.	5	4	3	2	1
Sending letters to congressmen can have great influence on legislation.	1	2	3	4	5

INDIVIDUAL POTENCY

In general, do you think that the individual citizen can do a great deal, only a moderate amount, or hardly anything at all about the following matters?

	A Great Deal	A Moderate Amount	Hardly Anything
Prevention of war	2	1	0
Reduction of corruption in national government	2	1	0
Reduction of corruption in local government	2	1	0
Improvement of housing	2	1	0
Improvement of race relations	2	1	0
Improvement of education	2	1	0

GROUP POTENCY

How about groups of people, or clubs? Can they do a great deal, only a moderate amount, or hardly anything at all about these matters?

	A Great Deal	A Moderate Amount	Hardly Anything
Prevention of war	2	1	0
Reduction of corruption in national government	2	1	0
Reduction of corruption in local government	2	1	0
Improvement of housing	2	1	0
Improvement of race relations	2	1	0
Improvement of education	2	1	0

ANOMIE

	I Agree			I Disagree		
	Very Much	Pretty Much	A Little	A Little	Pretty Much	Very Much
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
There's little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It's hardly fair to bring children into the world the way things look for the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.	1	2	3	4	5	6
In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.	1	2	3	4	5	6

POLITICAL NORMLESSNESS

	I Agree			I Disagree		
	Very Much	Pretty Much	A Little	A Little	Pretty Much	Very Much
Having "pull" is more important than ability in getting a government job.	1	2	3	4	5	6
In getting a job promotion, some degree of "apple polishing" is required.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Men elected to public office have to serve special interests (like Big Business or Labor) as well as the public interest.	1	2	3	4	5	6
In order to get elected to public office, a candidate must make promises he doesn't intend to keep.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Those running our government must hush up many things that go on behind the scene, if they wish to stay in office.	1	2	3	4	5	6

ECONOMIC NORMLESSNESS

	I Agree			I Disagree		
	Very Much	Pretty Much	A Little	A Little	Pretty Much	Very Much
For a strike to be effective, picket line violence is necessary.	1	2	3	4	5	6
In order to have a good income, a salesman must use high pressure salesmanship.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A newspaper can't build up its circulation without making news events (like crime stories) seem more sensational than they really are.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Success in business and politics can easily be achieved without taking advantage of people.	6	5	4	3	2	1
To get a good job, it is necessary to exaggerate one's abilities (or personal merits).	1	2	3	4	5	6
One can be successful in business without compromising moral principles.	6	5	4	3	2	1

TOLERANCE

Below is a list of kinds of people that our society generally condemns. After each one of them try to indicate as accurately as possible how you feel when you think about people who behave in this way. Check one alternative for each item - please be frank.

	Very Strong Distaste	Strong Distaste	Mild Distaste	No feelings of distaste (Neutral)	Approval
People who cheat	1	2	3	4	5
People who use obscene language	1	2	3	4	5
Dope addicts	1	2	3	4	5
Women who bear children without being married	1	2	3	4	5
People with long criminal records	1	2	3	4	5
Alcoholics	1	2	3	4	5
People who are personally filthy	1	2	3	4	5
Homosexuals	1	2	3	4	5
Men who engage in brawls	1	2	3	4	5
People who frequently lie	1	2	3	4	5
People who steal	1	2	3	4	5
People who keep a filthy home	1	2	3	4	5
Unmarried couples who engage in sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
Men who beat their wives	1	2	3	4	5
People who are shiftless and lazy	1	2	3	4	5
People who bribe policemen	1	2	3	4	5
Juvenile delinquents	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

Table 2A. Comparison Between Initial Attitudes Of Selected and Deselected Trainees

Scale[1]	Study Volunteers Mean	Study Volunteers S. D.	Deselected Volunteers Mean	Deselected Volunteers S. D.	t-test Value	Interpretation of Change
Democratic Process						
Authoritarianism	28. 4	4. 63	27. 2	4. 36	1. 41	N. S.
Democracy	24. 1	4. 24	23. 9	4. 00	0. 25	N. S.
Liberalism						
Political-Economic Conservatism	24. 2	4. 59	25. 7	5. 27	1. 53	N. S.
Social Action						
Action-Apathy	10. 1	2. 83	10. 7	3. 00	1. 07	N. S.
Individual Potency	6. 1	2. 47	6. 1	2. 52	--	N. S.
Group Potency	7. 8	1. 66	8. 0	1. 46	0. 21	N. S.
Connection with Society						
Anomie	22. 6	4. 28	22. 1	4. 17	0. 55	N. S.
Political Normlessness	17. 8	4. 72	17. 9	6. 15	0. 08	N. S.
Economic Normlessness	2. 58	5. 32	2. 66	5. 38	0. 70	N. S.

[1] Information was not available for the Tolerance Scale.

Table 3A. Changes in Attitudes of Volunteers During Course of Training Program

	Time of Testing: Initial		Training			
Scale	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.	t-test Value	Interpretation of Change
Democratic Process						
Authoritarianism	28. 4	4. 63	28. 0	4. 32	1. 12	N. S. change
Democracy	24. 1	4. 24	23. 6	4. 15	1. 22	N. S. change
Liberalism						
Politician-Economic Conservatism	24. 2	4. 59	23. 1	5. 01	3. 22**	Marked change towards liberalism
Social Action						
Action-Apathy	10. 1	2. 83	9. 9	3. 02	0. 67	N. S. change
Individual Potency	6. 1	2. 47	4. 9	2. 67	5. 16***	Marked change toward less potency
Group Potency	7. 8	1. 66	7. 4	1. 90	2. 06*	Some change toward less potency
Connection with Society						
Anomie	22. 6	4. 28	22. 4	4. 24	0. 74	N. S. change
Political Normlessness	17. 8	5. 72	16. 8	4. 79	2. 62*	Some change toward less norms
Economic Normlessness	25. 8	5. 32	24. 8	5. 60	2. 19*	Some change toward less norms
Tolerance						
Tolerance	48. 0	9. 62	51. 2	8. 86	2. 44**	Marked change toward more tolerance

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Table 5A. Changes in Volunteers' Attitudes During The First Four Months of Work

Scale	Time of Testing: End of Training Mean	End of Training S. D.	4 Months on Job Mean	4 Months on Job S. D.	t-test Value	Interpretation of Change
Democratic Process						
Authoritarianism	28. 0	4. 32	28. 0	4. 53	0. 03	N. S. change
Democracy	23. 6	4. 15	23. 1	3. 76	1. 43	N. S. change
Liberalism						
Political-Economic Conservatism	23. 1	5. 01	22. 7	5. 42	1. 15	N. S. change
Social Action						
Action-Apathy	9. 9	3. 02	9. 9	3. 49	0. 03	N. S. change
Individual Potency	4. 9	2. 67	5. 1	2. 71	0. 95	N. S. change
Group Potency	7. 4	1. 90	6. 9	2. 38	2. 54*	Some change toward less potency
Connection with Society						
Anomie	22. 4	4. 24	21. 8	4. 36	1. 22	N. S. change
Political Normlessness	16. 8	4. 79	16. 7	4. 51	0. 30	N. S. change
Economic Normlessness	24. 8	5. 60	24. 8	5. 16	0. 07	N. S. change
Tolerance						
Tolerance	51. 2	8. 86	52. 6	8. 13	1. 14	N. S. change

*$p < .05$

Table 6A. Changes in Volunteers' Attitudes During The Course of VISTA Experience

Scale	Time of Testing: Initial Mean	Initial S. D.	4 Month Mean	4 Month S. D.	t-test Value	Interpretation of Change
Democratic Process						
Authoritarianism	28. 4	4. 54	28. 0	4. 53	0. 89	N. S. change
Democracy	24. 1	4. 24	23. 1	3. 76	2. 27*	Some change toward less Democratic
Liberalism						
Political-Economic Conservatism	24. 2	4. 59	22. 7	5. 42	3. 56**	Marked change toward Liberalism
Social Action						
Action-Apathy	10. 1	2. 83	9. 9	3. 49	0. 57	N. S. change
Individual Potency	6. 1	2. 47	5. 1	2. 71	3. 73**	Marked change toward
Group Potency	7. 8	1. 66	6. 9	2. 38	4. 01**	less potency
Connection with Society						
Anomie	22. 6	4. 28	21. 8	4. 36	1. 56	N. S. change
Political Normlessness	17. 8	4. 72	16. 7	4. 51	2. 28*	Some change toward less norms
Economic Normlessness	25. 8	5. 32	24. 8	5. 16	1. 93	N. S. change
Tolerance						
Tolerance	48. 0	9. 62	52. 6	8. 13	3. 62**	Marked change toward more tolerance

*p < .05
**p < .001

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